

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 7655

EXDIS

E.O. 116522 N/A
TAGS: XF IS PLO RO
SUBJ: ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MACOVESCU ON ME DISCUSSIONS IN NY

1. DURING MEETING WITH COUNSELOR NIMETZ OCTOBER 12, FONMIN
MACOVESCU DESCRIBED AND COMMENTED ON HIS DISCUSSIONS ON ME
AT UNGA OPENING.

2. SITUATION IS FLUID, MACOVESCU SAID. THE STEPS TAKEN HAVE
BEEN POSITIVE, SINCE THEY BRING MOVEMENT TO A STAGNANT
SITUATION, AND STAGANATION WAS TO NO ONE'S ADVANTAGE.

3. THE PARTIES ARE NOW BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THIS. AT ONE
TIME THE ISRAELIS BELIVED THAT TIME WAS ON THEIR SIDE, AND
AT ONE TIME IT WAS; NOW IT IS NO LONGER. SIMILARLY, SOME
ARABS TILL THINK TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE, BUT IT IS NOT. GIVEN
THE EGYPTIANS' ECONOMIC SITUATION, FOR INSTANCE, STAGANATION
IN NEGOTIATIONS CREATES A BIG QUESTION MARK.

4. AT THE SAME TIME IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE EMOTIONAL
REACTIONS INTO ACCOUNT; HE HAD LONG EXPERIENCE WITH BOTH ARABS
AND ISRAELIS. HE RECALLED ISRAELI SADNESS AND ARAB JUBILATION
THE DAY THE U.S.- SOVIET DECLARATION HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED. HE HAD
TOLD THE ARABS TO PLAY DOWN THEIR SATISFACTION, BECAUSE IT WAS
LIKELY TO CAUSE THE ISARELIS TO DIG IN: THE U.S. MOVE WAS A
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COMPROMISE, HE HAD SAID, AND EVENTS HAD BORNE HIM OUT. HE HAD
FOUND MORE UNDERSTANDING FOR HIS VIEW WHERE HE HAD LEAST
EXPECTED IT, WITH THE PLO. HE HAD TALKED SEVERAL TIMES TO
KHADDUMI, AND KHADDUMI HAD THEREAFTER PUBLISHED A SHORT COMMUNIQUE
SEEKING TO CALM THE SITUATION. THEN THE U.S. HAD ACTED IN THE
SAME DIRECTION; HE WOULD NOT SAY THAT WE HAD WON, AND PERHAPS
WE WOULD HAVE HAD MORE SUCCESS IF WE HAD ACTED MORE WITHIN THE

DIPLOMATIC FIELD, AND LESS ON TELEVISION, BUT WE HAD ACTED.

5. AS HE SAW IT, SAID MACOVESCU, THERE SHOULD BE THREE OBJECTIVES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. THE FIRST WAS TO GET GENEVA CONVENED, AND NOT TO AGITATE THE OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AT THE CONFERENCE, E.G. FRONTIERS AND A SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINIANS. THE SECOND IS A FORMULA FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE COCCERENCE; LINKED TO THIS ARE THE TWO ISSUES OF PALESTINIAN STATUS AND RESOLUTION 242. THIRD, CONFERENCE PROCEDURES HAD TO BE ORGANIZED.

6. MACOVESCU SAID HE REALIZED THE U.S. WAS WORKING TOWARD A MIDDLE SOLUTION, AND THOUGHT WE SHOULD CONTINUE, BUT BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE TO AGREE.

7. ON THE ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION, IT WAS CLEAR TO HIM THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PEACE WITHOUT A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. HE HAD HAD A LONG TALK WITH ISRAELI FONMIN DAYAN BEFORE LEAVING NEW YORK. DAYAN HAD TAKEN EXTREMELY RIGID POSITIONS: NO RECOGNITION OF THE PLO, NO ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLO AT THE CONFERENCE, NO DISCUSSION OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE AT THE CONFERENCE. MACOVESCU HAD ASKED HIM WHETHER THIS DID NOT REPRESENT A STEP BACKWARD FROM POSITIONS ISRAEL HAD TAKEN PREVIOUSLY, AND DAYAN ADMITTED IT DID. STILL, MACOVESCU SAID, HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT BEHIND DAYAN'S RIGIDITY THERE WERE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS: CONFIDENTIAL

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ISRAELI AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. AND THE STATEMENTS OF THE ISRAELI CABINET.

8. HE HAD TOLD DAYAN, MACOVESCU WENT ON, THAT WITHOUT A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION ISREAL COULD HAVE AN ARMISTICE, BUT NOT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. DAYAN WAS TALKING ABOUT SEPARATE PEACE TREATIES WITH EGYPT, JORDAN, PERHAPS EVEN SYRIA. MACOVESCU HAD ASKED WITH WHOM ISRAEL INTENDED TO REACH A PEACE TREATY WITH THE PALESTINIANS. HE HAD REPLIED, "PERHAPS WITH JORDAN." MACOVESCU SAID THAT IN THAT CASE ISRAEL WILL HAVE NO PEACE. DAYAN HAD RESPONDED THAT IN THAT CASE ISRAEL WILL STAY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. MACOVESCU HAD ASKED WHETHER THIS WAS A SOLUTION, AND DAYAN HAD NOT REPLIED.

9. THE EXISTENCE OF THE PLO IS A REALITY, MACOVESCU SAID, WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH. IT IS OFTEN A DISRUPTIVE FORCE, BUT IT IS A GROUPING WHICH REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND WE AS POLITICAL REALISTS MUSE DEAL WITH REALITY. HE KNEW THE ARABSSOMETIMES PLAY ON THEIR OWN DIVERGENCES, BUT NO ARAB, REGARDLESS OF HOW STRONG HIS DOMESTIC POWER POSITION, CAN GO TO GENEVA DENYING PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION.

10. HE HAD HEARD OF THE IDEA--HE DID NOT KNOW IF HE HAD HEARD CORRECTLY---OF A UNITED ARAB DELEGATION, INVITED THROUGH THE ARAB LEAGUE TO AVOID INDIVIDUAL INVITATIOCT BY THE U.S. AND SOVIET CO-CHAIRMEN, TO TAKE HEAT OFF THE U.S. IF THE PLO IS INCLUDED.

11. RESOLUTION 242 SAYS THE PALESTINIANS ARE REFUGEES, AND NO LONGER CORRESPONDS TO REALITY. UNTIL 1968 THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WAS AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM, SOLUBLE WITH FUNDING; THEREFORE IT HAS NOT BEEN ECONOMIC, BECAUSE DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE PLO THE PALESTINIANS HAVE GAINED POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, AND ALL THE GOLD IN THE WORLD WILL NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM. THEY ARE NO LONGER REFUGEES, AND THIS EXPLAINS THEIR JOY VIS-A-VIS THE MENTION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS IN THE U.S.-SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLARATION AND PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENTS TENDING IN THE SAME DIRECTION.

12. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH 242 AND 338? MACOVESCU ASKED. THE PALESTINIANS HAVE SAID THEY DO NOT RECOGNIZE 242, THE ISRAELIS THAT THEY RECOGINIZE ONLY 242 AND 338. HE HAD DISCUSSED ONE IDEA WITH DAYAN; IT HAD NOT BEEN HIS IDEA, SINCE TH ELEMENTS HAD COME FROM THE OTHER SIDE. THIS WOULD BE A UNSC RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD DEFINE THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE PALESTINIANS WITHOUT EITHER MENTIONING OR DENYING 242. FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD THUS BE GOVERNED BY 242, 338 AND THE NEW RESOLUTION. THIS SOLUTION WOULD MEET THE U.S. OBJECTION THAT MODIFYING 242 WOULD DESTROY THE RECOGINIZED BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

13. HE HAD HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PALESTINIANS WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A SOLUTION, MACOVESCU SAID. AS FOR DAYAN, HE HAD CLAIMED THE U.S. WOULD VETO IT. MACOVESCU SAID TO DAYAN THAT IF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW RESOLUTION WAS DRAWN FROM THE WORDS OF THE U.S.-SOVIET DECLARATION AND SPEECHES BY PRESIDENT CARTER, A VETO MIGHT BE DIFFICULT; DAYAN HAD NO LONGER SEEMED SO CONFIDENT.

14. AFTER THE QUESTION OF RECONVENING GENEVA HAS BEEN RESOLVED, MACOVESCU SAID, THERE WILL BE OTHER DIFFICULTIES, BUT THE IMPORTANT POINT NOW IS TO GET TO GENEVA. FOR GENEVA, HOWEVER, IT WAS WORTH POINTING OUT THAT LEGITIMATE RIGHTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS MEANT LEGITIMATE RIGHTS FOR THE ISRAELIS TOO.

15. DEPARTMENT PASS OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.
BARNES

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